Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIV - No. 48 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1950 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Yugoslav Foreign Policy Plays Into Hands of Kremlin

By Paul G. Stevens

The first meager food shipments to drought-stricken Yugoslavia arrived last week following Marshal Tito's declaration to an American correspondent that Yugoslavia would abide by a United Nations decision on who is the "aggressor" in the current conflict with Peiping on the China-Korea border. At the same time, it was announced in Washington that emergency shipments of flour, amounting to 11½ million dollars, would be rerouted from Germany and Italy, as a "stop-gap" measure in a broader program approved by President Truman.

In a message to Congressional leaders, Truman outlined the steps in this program to loosen up credits for Yugoslavia in various U. S.-controlled international monetary, economic and "defense" agencies (Export-Import Bank, ECA, etc.), with the following blunt motivation:

TRUMAN'S LINE

"As you know, it is our policy toward Yugoslavia to give Marshal Tito such support as we judge necessary for the protection of our strategic and political interests in that area."

No appreciable credit was extended throughout the two years since Belgrade's break with Moscow; the first dribble was permitted only after Tito had made the first public declaration which could be safely taken by Washington as a token that the Yugoslavs were prepared to play ball in the UN.

Senator Taft has, meanwhile, been quoted as demanding far more substantial "guarantees" from the Tito government before he and his colleagues—who wield far greater influence in foreign policy after the Republican victory in the elections — would agree to any extensive aid to Yugoslavia.

Clearly, the Washington "humanitarians" are utilizing the stark threat of famine and starvation in order to wring important concessions from the hard-pressed leaders of Yugoslavia. Late dispatches report that a written agreement has virtually been reached, under which the Yugoslav army's food supply is to be guaranteed in exchange for what amounts to an American stranglehold on the export of Yugoslavia's "strategic raw materials."

With the knowledge that the heat is on Yugoslavia, the Vatican contemptuously rejected Tito's offer — publicized in his interview with the N. Y. Times correspondent — to release pro-Nazi Archbishop Stepinac, tried and convicted as a collaborationist. The reactionary Vatican hierarchy obviously considers the time ripe for concessions that would enable it once more to penetrate Yugoslavia with all its sinister machinations.

That the vultures of American imperialism are able thus to swoop upon famine-threatened Yugoslavia is in the first place due to the criminal policy of the Kremlin. There is not the slightest doubt that Moscow and its Eastern European satellites, were they to pursue a socialist policy, could without any difficulty come to the aid of Yugoslavia and help her adequately to overcome the crisis resulting from the drought.

WHAT STALIN WANTS

But Stalin and his Cominform refused to lift a finger to help a country in which capitalism has been independently vanquished. The whole policy of the Kremlin is directed toward crushing revolutionary Yugoslavia. And, if that is not possible directly, to drive her into the camp of the imperialists, so as to discredit the very idea of any anti-capitalist struggle independent of the Soviet bureaucracy. If Tito today is forced to make serious and compromising concessions to Washington, it can truly be said that Stalin wanted and planned it that way.

This does not, however, absolve Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership of their share of responsibility. There is no question whatever that they are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the threat of Stalinist attack. But what price safety from Stalinist strangulation if the alternative is the crushing embrace of American imperialism — with or without the camouflaged cover of the discredited UN? And that is the stark prospect that faces hard-

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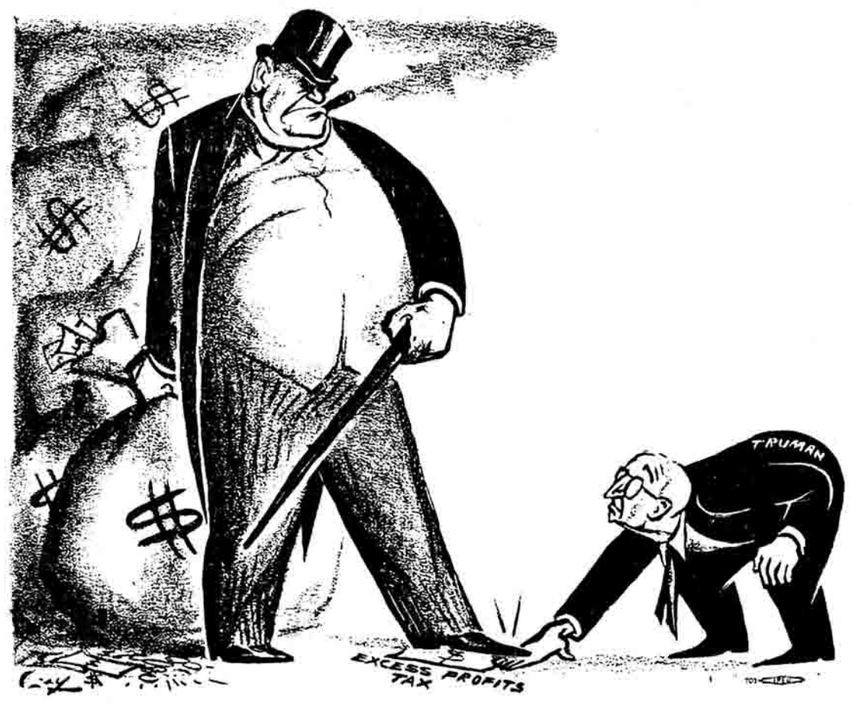

Grave Issues Sidetracked At CIO Parley

Steel Corporations Plan to Increase Profits and Prices

Discussing the steel workers' demand for wage raises to meet the rising cost of living, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation, declared on Nov. 16 that he was in favor of granting increases that would conform "substantially to the general wage pattern." But simultaneously he announced that the steel corporations plan to raise the price of steel by almost twice the amount that they would have to pay in added wages.

Taking a 15-cent hourly wage increase "out of the air" as an example, Fairless said that would cost U. S. Steel $132,000,000 a year, or $6 a ton. But if such a wage increase is granted, U. S. Steel intends to increase steel prices by $220,000,000 — or $10 a ton, approximately a 10% price hike.

The extra $4 a ton, he claimed, was necessary to meet increased costs of production like scrap, oil, copper, nickel, etc. He did not include among these "increased costs" the most important factor of all — the swollen profits of U. S. Steel.

Fairless' only mention of profits was to dismiss as "just plain silly" the proposal that the corporation could increase wages without raising the price of steel at all. But the figures of U. S. Steel profits tell a different story.

In the first nine months of this year, the corporation reported profits of over $178,000,000. This was $45,000,000 more than U. S. Steel reported for the same period in 1949, an increase of 38%. If its profits continue at the same rate during the last quarter of this year, its profits this year will be around $237,000,000, or more than $100,000,000 above the amount needed to give its workers a 15 cent hourly wage increase.

Meanwhile, negotiations between the union and U. S. Steel have been dragging along for months. Philip Murray has been more concerned with "living up to the contract" than in leading the steel workers in a struggle to preserve their living standards. That is why the steel workers have lagged behind other workers on the wage raise front this year.

Leadership Agrees to Block Political Policy Discussion

By Art Preis

NOV. 22—Why were so many CIO-endorsed candidates defeated on Nov. 7? Why did organized labor's worst enemies, like Taft, score overwhelming victories? Why has the CIO suffered a one-third drop in membership? How can the CIO effectively combat the coming anti-labor offensive and intensified witch-hunt of the new Congress?

These are the burning questions that faced the 600 delegates to the 12th CIO national convention, which began on Nov. 20 in Chicago. But all the evidence of the first two days of the convention indicates that the CIO leaders are determined to evade or ignore these questions.

CIO President Philip Murray's published report and his keynote address, the resolutions brought out by the Resolutions Committee headed by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and the apathetic discussion have already revealed that these leaders are concerned only with covering up for false policies silencing criticism and shifting blame.

SAME BLIND COURSE

Above all, they give every indication of their intentions to continue their same blind and dangerous course. This is evidenced most strikingly in their attitude toward the question that is uppermost in every active, thinking unionist's mind: What road should labor take in politics after the disastrous setback of its policies in the past elections?

Every effort is being made to keep this question out of discussion. Before the convention began, the top leaders met and agreed to postpone debate and decisions on political action until they can deal with it privately within their own little top circle. They don't want to give the membership any voice. They fear the advocates of a labor party — whose numbers are growing since the elections.

Murray's report, which was printed before Nov. 7, does not mention the election results and still speaks about "labor's political arm" being "stronger than it ever has been."

NOT 'PROPER' WAY

However, in his opening address, he sought to blame the outcome of the elections on the "diabolical misrepresentations" and "deceitful statements" of the Republicans on foreign policy, on the charges of harboring "Communists" leveled at the Truman administration and the fact that "domestic issues" were not presented to the people "in the proper way." He complained bitterly about Republican "demagoguery."

Naturally, the Republicans — no less than the Democrats whom Murray supported — resorted to "diabolical misrepresentations" and "demagoguery." But Murray did not say why the union leaders were unable to answer these lies effectively. He could not explain why "the half-hearted isolationism" of the Republicans had greater attraction for the voters, who were offered no better choice by the labor

(Continued on page 4)

Arrogant AT&T Yields in 11-Day Telephone Strike

In the face of a determined strike of 33,000 telephone equipment workers backed by thousands of operators who refused to cross picket lines, the arrogant American Telephone and Telegraph monopoly bowed on the 11th day of a 42-state walkout.

On strike were 17,000 workers in Western Electric, manufacturing subsidiary of AT&T, and 16,000 service employes of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, part of the AT&T-controlled telephone system. Although separate demands and negotiations were involved, the two groups struck simultaneously on Nov. 9 and settled on the same day, Nov. 19. Both belong to the CIO Communications Workers.

The chief issue in the Western Electric dispute was the union's demand for a one-year wage reopener clause. At first, the company insisted on a two-year contract with a wage-reopener after 18 months. This was cut to 16 months and finally the company agreed to a straight 15-month contract. The short contract is important in view of the rising cost-of-living. The contract also provides average wage increases of between 10.30 cents and 11.80 cents an hour. Bell workers in Detroit will get a $3 to $5 weekly raise and differentials of workers in 63 smaller Michigan communities are eliminated by raises of as much as $9 a week.

The Western Electric strikers employed a hit-and-run technique of picketing AT&T buildings. Wherever they threw up a picket line, the operators refused to cross. The lines were shifted, however, from one building to another and no attempt was made to shut the whole system down.

Operators who respected the picket lines were locked out when the lines were withdrawn unless they accepted a yellow-dog agreement to walk through any further lines that might be set up.

TRUMAN OFFERS TOKEN TAX ON EXCESS PROFITS

The Truman administration has at long last unveiled its "excess profits" tax proposals and these are now being solemnly debated on Capitol Hill. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder has formally asked the House Ways and Means Committee to enact legislation which would ostensibly take the "profit out of war" by setting a tax rate of 75% on excess profits.

During the last war the tax on excess profits was fixed at 85½%; the "normal earnings" were estimated on 1936-39 profits as a "representative basis," and, as everyone knows, the resulting crop of billionaires and super-monopolies broke all records. The profiteers thrived on the 85½% "surcharge."

Now it is proposed that the formal tax rate on the loot the capitalists garner over and above the "normal earnings" be lowered by a whopping 10½%. In addition, the "representative basis" for "normal earnings" is to be supplied by the lush postwar years. How much have the corporations been making?

PROFITS DOUBLED

Their profits have at least doubled. In his official presentation, Secretary Snyder noted with satisfaction that "the average rate of return on equity capital for manufacturing corporations . . . has more than doubled since the 1936-39 period."

Not touched at all by the proposed tax are these profits, which by official admission, have "more than doubled." Moreover, the corporations can continue pocketing additional huge sums that can be diverted through innumerable tax loopholes. Only what is over and above these already astronomic profits, admitted and hidden alike, will become even liable to the suggested taxation.

Actually, the "75% rate" would just barely scratch the surface. The administration itself estimates it will produce in the neighborhood of four billion dollars — at a time when according to the most conservative estimates corporation profits are running at an annual rate of over 35 billion (or nearly double the previously estimated postwar rate).

NOT SATISFIED

The workers and the mass of the people generally are already paying taxes as heavy as those at the peak of the last war. Meanwhile the profiteers are being guaranteed not merely far bigger "earnings" but also sharply lower taxation than previously on the statutes. But even this does not satisfy the monopolists.

The hue and cry they have raised against any "excess profit" taxation whatever is meeting with more than sympathetic response in Washington. The most authoritative banking and financial periodicals are confidently predicting that no such tax bill will pass Congress this year.

How much the corporations

(Continued on Page 2)

Profits Rising at 'Unheard-of Rate'

The weekly Machinist, Nov. 9, did a little computing of the reported profits of Big Business. In 1939, corporations raked in 6.5 billion dollars. By 1948 their profits leaped to 33.9 dollars. They bettered this record figure in the second quarter of this year when corporation profits reached the annual rate of 35 billion. In the third quarter, — "the unheard of rate of 43 billion dollars." And the profiteers blame high prices on "high wages."

70 Laborites in Parliament Press for Deal with Peiping

NOV. 22 — Feverish diplomatic activities behind the scenes to find some solution for the China-Korea crisis were stepped up last week, as the Peiping delegation flew from Prague on its way to Lake Success. Meanwhile, the most noteworthy development was the increasing pressure inside the British Labor Party to settle differences with both China and the Kremlin through top-level negotiations.

Three motions have now been submitted to this effect in the House of Commons by 70 Laborite members. The first motion was presented two weeks ago by 22 MP's whom the press designates as "leftists." Two other similar motions are backed by the so-called "moderates," previously listed as safely pro-Washington in their orientation.

Among the proposals submitted is the establishment of a buffer zone on the Korea-China border, drawing "a line beyond which the United Nations forces will not advance."

The Attlee-Bevin government itself is reportedly in favor of some such deal with Mao. But it is obviously irked by the actions of these "backbenchers." What disturbs the Laborite chieftains most is, of course, the rising opposition to war among the mass of the British people which finds its expression in these dissident motions.

THE CHINA GANG

Here at home the ruling circles remain sharply divided over what course to pursue. Gen. MacArthur and the China-gang of the Republican Party are demanding a showdown.

This is reflected in public utterances of such "anti-appeasement" Republican Senators as Wherry of Neb., Knowland of Calif., Bridges of N. H., and others.

The State Department now favors "a slight tactical retreat in our diplomacy," reports N. Y. Times correspondent James Reston. He then adds immediately: "but Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose views also have to be respected in this matter, apparently favors a somewhat bolder course."

This is exactly what many Europeans especially fear. For example, the London liberal weekly, New Statesman and Nation, has flatly charged MacArthur with seeming "intent on turning the Korean conflict into a world war," and with "deliberate disregard" for directives from "either Washington or Lake Success."

On just what terms Mao will agree to make a deal still remains one of the big unknowns in the entire complex equation.

But one thing is certain, and that is what American labor should do in this crisis. It should wholeheartedly rally behind the slogan: NO WAR WITH CHINA!

WHY LABOR SHOULD NOT 'GET OUT OF POLITICS'

As the result of the defeat of many union-backed capitalist party candidates in the recent election, the organized workers are being flooded with advice like "get out of politics" and "politics is no place for the labor movement." This is the theme of the powerful Scripps-Howard newspaper, the N. Y. World-Telegram, which on Nov. 13 splashed an editorial on the subject across eight columns at the top of its editorial page, with an appropriate cartoon beneath.

The headline read: "Lesson in Ohio — Union Members Decide Gompers Was Right." The cartoon pictures a big, fat, battered figure holding his head, marked "Labor Politician," while above him stands the shade of Samuel Gompers, AFL founder, holding a sign reading, "If labor ever enters politics it will eventually suffer a crushing defeat!" and saying, "You wouldn't take my word — You had to learn the hard way."

According to the editorial, Taft's victory in Ohio signifies "the resurgence of independence among the masses of organized labor" and that "American workers decided to vote according to their own convictions and ignore the demands of the labor hierarchy."

It cannot be disputed that more union members than usual voted Republican in Ohio — and elsewhere — and that in doing so they acted against the appeals of the labor leaders. It is equally true, however, that the bulk of organized workers, whatever their lack of enthusiasm, continued to support the candidates endorsed by the union leaders.

But let us, for the sake of the argument, accept the more exaggerated claims of the World-Telegram. Does it follow that workers who voted for the millionaire Taft, co-author of the Taft-Hartley anti-union law, demonstrated their "independence" or that labor should not participate as an organized force in politics?

What conclusion did the World-Telegram draw in 1948, when the union-backed Democratic candidates were largely successful and what argument would it raise in 1952, if they were again victorious?

What the set-back suffered by labor in this election really shows is that if the union leaders offer nothing better than the corrupt, war-mongering, pro-capitalist Democratic Party-politicians, then many workers will turn in disgust and desperation to the corrupt, war-mongering, pro-capitalist Republican Party, or not vote at all.

THEY WANT SURRENDER

But if labor cannot "win" with the Democrats does that mean it must return to Gompersism, as the World-Telegram and other capitalist mouthpieces advocate? That, in effect, would mean to leave organized politics entirely in the hands of a few big capitalist newspapers, the corporations and their hired political agents. How would that help the work-

(Continued on page 4)

Make Budenz Tell All on Trotsky Murder!

Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker, revealed on Nov. 16 that he had identified Dr. Gregory Rabinovitch, one-time Russian Red Cross representative in the U. S., as the Kremlin agent in this country who organized the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940.

Budenz, who broke with the Stalinists in 1945 and returned to the Catholic Church, had previously confirmed the guilt of the Stalinists in the Trotsky assassination in his book. **This Is My Story**, published in March 1947.

In that book Budenz revealed that beginning in December 1936 he had been assigned by his American Stalinist superiors to the job of working with Soviet secret police agents in making the connections which were later used by the assassin, "Frank Jacson," to gain entry to Trotsky's home and to kill him.

Budenz said in his book that he knew the first Soviet agent only by the name of "Richards" and that "Richards" was later replaced by a "Mr. Roberts."

Now Budenz says of the latter: "I met him in the spring of 1937, and had frequent meetings with him until 1939 when he returned to the Soviet Union. He then asked me to come to New York from Chicago to say good-bye, and I did so. He directed the whole business of the Trotsky assassination."

STRANGE DELAY

For years, Budenz continues, he did not know who "Roberts" was. "I mentioned him only as 'Mr. Roberts' in my books about the Communist movement, except that I reported he had told me he had registered once in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, under his passport name of 'Rabinovitz,' as I spelled it then.

"Since 1945 I have been shown hundreds of pictures in an attempt to find out who 'Mr. Roberts' was. Finally, last week, I was shown pictures of Dr. Rabinovitch. I recognized him right away, and immediately said: 'Why, that's my friend Roberts.'"

A question is raised by Budenz's latest statement. Budenz has been collaborating for the last five years with the FBI, and the House Un-American Activities Committee, which have at their disposal pictures of all the Soviet representatives who were ever legally admitted to this country. Why should it have taken five years for them to show Budenz, and for him to examine, "hundreds of pictures," especially after he had reported that Rabinovitch told him his passport name sounded something like "Rabinovitz"?

At the very least, the conclusion that must be drawn from this strange delay is that Budenz still has not told everything he knows about the assassination.

That was evident from the very beginning. In 1947 he confirmed many of the facts about the plot that were already public knowledge, but he was careful not to add much that was not previously known and written about. Three and a half years later he adds the name of the top Soviet agent, with a rather flimsy explanation for the delay.

What else does he know about the Trotsky assassination, and when is he going to tell it publicly?

Trotsky's murder was ordered in the Kremlin, but is was organized in the United States. Why haven't the U. S. authorities investigated it properly?

Budenz contends that he was an "unwitting" participant in the murder conspiracy, although everyone knew after the first Moscow Trial of August 1936 that Stalin was bent on taking the life of the great Marxist who continued in exile to expose the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But there is no reason why Budenz's word should be taken for it. Why has no grand jury investigation been held to probe the murder plot further, and incidentally to determine whether Budenz's explanation about his own role is true or not? His services to the FBI and the Catholic hierarchy in the current witch-hunt are certainly no valid reason for Budenz to be spared from a federal grand jury probe.

The demand for a grand jury investigation of the murder conspiracy hatched in the U. S. should be raised again by all organizations interested in discovering the full truth about the Trotsky assassination. Budenz should be made to appear and tell everything he knows about the case. So should Jack Stachel, Communist Party National Bureau member who, according to Budenz, arranged Budenz's first meeting with the Soviet agent in charge of the conspiracy.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 4

POLITICAL OPPONENTS OF REGIME

By Ernest Germain

There are today two centers of political opposition in Yugoslavia which often collaborate with each other, while pursuing entirely different goals: the opposition of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles, and the Cominformist Stalinist opposition. Hundreds of members of the foreign youth brigades were able to discuss freely with oppositional elements and become familiar with their motives as well as the manifestations of their opposition.

The former capitalists and big merchants, former high state officials and landowners, former generals and church officials, are naturally very bitter about the regime because they have lost all their privileges and are today in many cases quite poor and miserable. Some of them obtain office jobs with nationalized enterprises or state institutions. These jobs are the lowest-paid in the country, and it is natural that a former proprietor of a brewery, whom a member of the French brigades met in Zagreb, should start complaining that "today an ignorant hodcarrier makes more money than a learned correspondent who knows five foreign languages." The hodcarriers who have been miserable for many generations don't complain about it, though.

Some members of the former ruling classes continue their idle lives by selling piece by piece their art treasures, expensive furniture, chinaware, furs, and similar possessions which bring very high prices in the special free market "commission stores." In Belgrade their daughters earn some money by working as stenographers and translators for foreign journalists or embassies. In general, these people have no perspectives and want to leave the country. They are unhappy and wish the government the worst.

Among the former political opponents is still another group, especially active and strong in Croatia. Here the native fascist Ustashi movement had for years a broad mass base among the sons of rich peasants, and among unemployed intellectuals unsuccessful in getting posts in the central state administration. During the war, the Ustashi regime was the fiercest and bloodiest fascist dictatorship in Europe, killing tens of thousands of people by sadistic tortures. (In his book, **Kaput**, the Italian writer Malaparte describes how the fascist "Poglavnik" Ante Pavelich once received two baskets full of human eyes, torn from the heads of his opponents.) The families of slain or imprisoned Ustashi form a broad layer, even among the youth, who still adhere with some fanaticism to the teachings of their sinister leader.

One of the members of the foreign youth brigades met an old Ustashi in Belgrade, just released from prison, who expressed himself in the most violent terms, saying that it would be "necessary to kill all Montenegrins and Macedonians." (These two nationalities constitute the most enthusiastic and unanimous groups supporting the government of the Yugoslav Communist Party.) All the Ustashi who were not imprisoned for major crimes (murder, arson, etc.) are freed after a couple of years in prison camps and circulate freely among the population, trying — in vain — to stir up some armed resistance against the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have connections with their foreign center in Italy and South America, and from time to time try to smuggle armed agents into the country, without however meeting with any response among the masses who hate them for their cruelty.

The main center of reactionary political opposition in the country, however, is not constituted by the remnants of former ruling classes. It comes from the rich and some of the owners of middle-sized farms, who represent a high percentage of the active population and could be an important force, if they were able and permitted to regroup themselves politically. They complain quite freely wherever you happen to meet them. They come very often to the big towns in order to buy a maximum of supplies. They are the rulers of the free market — and at the same time its main customers. Although the well-to-do peasantry is dissatisfied with the regime, it is evident that its situation is in general much better than it was before the war, and that it has a much higher standard of living than ever before. The rich farmers consume a far greater part of their own products, which they used to sell before the war: meat, eggs and butter. They succeed in buying many more clothes and shoes. In the village of Dubrova, where the youth brigade camp was established, there were a couple of these kulak-speculators with large funds in dinars who used to buy up big sums of foreign currency and hoard them. In the large cities a common sight is a group of well-to-do peasants gathered before watchmakers' shops, or trying to buy cameras or silverware for the obvious purpose of hoarding or speculation.

(Continued on Page 3)

EXCELLENT NOVEL ABOUT STALIN'S BLOOD PURGES

By George Lavan

THE CASE OF COMRADE TULAYEV by Victor Serge, Doubleday, 1950, 306 pages, $3.

This novel is laid in the Soviet Union of the 1930's. Its point of departure is the assassination of a prominent bureaucrat, Tulayev, member of the Central Committee of the ruling Russian Party. The assassination is an unpremeditated, unplanned act of a young party member who sinks back into safety among the great mass of the toiling population. He is never suspected and never caught.

The investigation of the murder by the apparatus is the central theme of the story. Into the net are drawn representative and symbolic figures. Old political opponents of Stalinism who are needed to give plausibility to the forthcoming trials as well as faithful Stalinist bureaucrats who fall victim to the cannibalism of their own regime.

PANORAMIC VIEW

But this is far more than the story of a murder and the ensuing frame-up. This is a panoramic view of modern Russian society, with especial attention paid to the role of the upper bureaucrats, whose hold on their posts and privileges — in fact, on life itself — is so tenuous.

That we have here an authentic picture is attested by the author's life. The late Victor Serge was an old revolutionist, who was sent to Siberia for his support of Trotsky. An international protest organized by French literary figures secured his release from Stalin's Russia in 1934. He knew the Soviet bureaucracy; he personally witnessed its usurpation of power. He knew the life of the political prisoners from personal experience.

Serge's descriptions not only have the ring of authority but furnish hope for the revival in Russia of the spirit and movement of Bolshevism which will ultimately sweep the Kremlin butchers from power.

THE HEROIC FIGURES

Symbolically the two heroic figures of this novel are on old and a young Trotskyist. Ryzhik, the old timer whom imprisonment has not broken, is brought from the furthest reaches of Siberia for a "confession" trial that will be the grand finale of the Tulayev case. He defies his inquisitors and defeats them by a secret hunger strike that brings him death. The young Trotskyist is Stefan Stern, kidnaped from Civil War Spain by the GPU.

In between these characters are the careerists, opportunists, organizers of earlier trials and even the head of the secret police enmeshed in the web of intrigue. Some old Bolsheviks, former Right Oppositionists, capitulate again. Not cowardice but their right-wing political position betrays them into "confessing" rather than unmask the regime on the eve of war.

To political students of Stalinism it is, of course, apparent that the Tulayev case parallels the assassination of Kirov in 1934 and the purges and "confession" trials that followed.

BEST IN ITS FIELD

Arthur Koestler's novel, **Darkness at Noon**, which was likewise based on the Moscow Trials, achieved a wide circulation. It was principally a psychological study of why the trial defendants "confessed," and Koestler's answers to that question were quite dubious. Serge's novel is not only infinitely superior on the psychological field but is of much wider scope. The reader will find this book not only fascinating reading but instructive and encouraging as well.

A Review of Pioneer Publishers' 20 Years of Notable Achievement

By Constance Locke

Twenty years ago this month Pioneer Publishers was organized to fill a pressing need in the American labor movement.

Beginning with 1928 when the Trotskyist Left Opposition was expelled from the Communist Party, **The Militant** started publishing several of the most important of Leon Trotsky's works of that period, suppressed by the Stalinists. Among these works were the parts of the book later published under the title of **The Third International After Lenin**, which helped to re-educate an entire generation of the working class vanguard.

But it became clear in 1930 that publishing books and pamphlets was too big a job for a weekly paper with slim resources and inadequate personnel, and so Pioneer Publishers was organized as an independent institution devoted to publishing Marxist literature.

Rose Karsner, who was the first manager of Pioneer, recalls that the beginnings were beset with great difficulties and it was several months before the first book was issued. In the spring of 1931, the new firm proudly published The Permanent Revolution by Leon Trotsky, one of the fundamental works of present-day Marxism, which only two years ago was reprinted in far-off India.

EARLY CONDITIONS

The young Pioneer Publishers faced tremendous obstacles as a publishing house truly independent of both capitalism and Stalinism. Rose Karsner recalls how funds for the first Pioneer pamphlets were raised by contributions from individual workers. All of the labor, except the actual printing and binding, was voluntary. Almost everything had to be done under handicaps of inadequate equipment, quarters, etc. One of the worst problems was that of storage space for the publications. Books were usually printed in editions of two to three thousand copies.

But in spite of all the difficulties, Pioneer Publishers has continued operations without pause throughout these twenty years. Each year, several works have been added to the list of publications and old works reissued. Had it not been for Pioneer, many of Trotsky's works would never have been available to the English-reading public. But now besides being available in libraries of workers, the public libraries carry these works which are also of great value to historians and students of social problems.

In addition to publishing books and pamphlets under its own imprint, Pioneer Publishers distributes books of interest to the labor movement from all over the world. Its publications have been translated into many languages, including Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Spanish, etc. Its stock of books of other publishers includes classics of revolutionary Marxism which are not available from any other source today.

IMPOSING LIST

All in all, it is estimated that about 112 different works have been issued under the Pioneer imprint, several of them in two or three editions. Considering that the enterprise started out literally on a shoestring and has had to be carried on largely through voluntary labor, that is a truly remarkable achievement.

The Pioneer list includes 35 books and pamphlets by Leon Trotsky, 9 books and pamphlets by James P. Cannon. 60 other pamphlets and 8 other books, covering such a wide range of subjects as international problems, the nature of socialism, Stalinism and fascism, American political, trade union and Negro problems, history, economics, etc.

The most important works of Trotsky which are still in stock are **The First Five Years of the Communist International, The Revolution Betrayed, In Defense of Marxism, The Permanent Revolution, Their Morals and Ours, Stalinism and Bolshevism, The Death Agony of Capitalism.** A full list is available on request.

The most popular of Cannon's works, **Socialism on Trial,** his testimony for the defense in the famous Smith Act trial of 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders in Minneapolis in 1941, went into its third edition last year, thanks to the great demand for it from those first learning about the theories of socialism. His other works still in print include **The History of American Trotskyism** and **The Struggle for A Proletarian Party,** indispensable works for an understanding of problems facing the Marxist movement.

Among well-known authors of Pioneer pamphlets and books are Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Art Preis, Albert Parker, Victor Serge, Daniel Guerin and others.

PLANS FOR FUTURE

The high cost of publishing considerably restricts Pioneer's activities at the present time but it has big plans for the future. One of the next books for which it plans a wide distribution is **The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation** by A. Leon, with an introduction by Ernest Germain. Leon was a brilliant young theoretician who was killed by the Nazis during the last war, and his book, issued posthumously in France, has already received many important reviews in Europe, and even some in this country.

As soon as financial circumstances permit, Pioneer will resume the publication of Trotsky's works, to many of which it has the publishing rights. Eagerly awaited for some time now is the second volume of his **First Five Years of the Communist International.** Earlier this year, Pioneer printed **Stalin's Frame-up System and the Moscow Trials,** containing Trotsky's memorable speech before the Dewey Commission in 1937, originally published in the now out-of-print **The Case of Leon Trotsky** (Harpers).

LASTING CONTRIBUTION

Looking back over the twenty years of its existence, Pioneer has every reason to be proud of its accomplishments in preserving the teachings of the great Marxist teachers, in making available material that was previously inaccessible, and in providing a center for publication of literature dealing seriously and fundamentally with problems of American labor. As Trotsky said, in his letter to Pioneer 13 years ago, Pioneer undertook "a great historic task." It has not completed that task, of course, but it has made a fine beginning and a lasting contribution.

YUGOSLAV POLICY PLAYS INTO HANDS OF KREMLIN

(Continued from Page 1)

pressed revolutionary Yugoslavia if her present course of foreign policy — opportunist, false and disastrous to the core — is continued.

COMINFORM AIDED

Already the Cominform propaganda, whose past slanders against Yugoslavia could easily be refuted, has been making serious headway by merely hammering on the publicly declared stand of the Tito government on Korea and China.

The same masses who welcomed Yugoslavia's struggle for independence from Kremlin domination and the recent internal reforms look with the deepest sympathy to the peoples in Asia who are struggling for independence from imperialist oppression. Yugoslav foreign policy, interpreted as siding with the UN against the Asian masses, is and will be exploited by Stalin and his Cominform in order to break the world-wide solidarity with all revolutionary struggles for independence.

This foreign policy gives the Kremlin a weapon to isolate revolutionary Yugoslavia from her genuine friends and allies among the masses in Europe and Asia who aspire for liberation from both Washington and Moscow. It renders potent Stalin's campaign of defamation and lies, opening wider the door to the predatory imperialists who will press on ever more brutally for crippling concessions. It feeds the Cominformist elements, hitherto dispersed and disorganized, inside the country. At the same time, every unprincipled concession to the imperialists strengthens the capitalist elements, especially among the peasantry.

ANOTHER ROAD

Is another foreign policy possible for Yugoslavia? Is there no other way of warding off the frightful prospect of famine, and the disorganization and dangers resulting from it, aside from Washington's aid?

Naturally, any aid the imperialists — for reasons of their own — are willing to give Yugoslavia cannot be rejected. And the imperialists always have their own reasons for extending aid, in any case. But far more decisive for the fate of Yugoslavia is the support that comes from the masses.

Famine beset the Soviet Russia of Lenin and Trotsky in their time, too, and in the very midst of civil war. The leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution did not refuse food or even arms when they came from the imperialists. But they made not the slightest concessions that compromised their principled solidarity with the struggles of the masses against capitalism and imperialism everywhere. More than that, they made their major appeal for aid — for food, for defense of the revolutionary country — to the workers and farmers of all lands. And they did not fail to get a response to their appeal, a response that saved revolutionary Russia at that time.

For a foreign policy that will safeguard the revolutionary conquests in Yugoslavia, the leaders of the CPY must take a page out of the history of the Russian Revolution. Adherence to the principle of international soli-

TITO

darity and an appeal in its name will not fail to evoke a similar response to the cause of hard-pressed Yugoslavia.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Chicago Reports Encouraging Sales Of "The Militant"

Frank Roberts, Literature Director for **Chicago,** ordered another increase in **The Militant** bundle this week. Sales are encouraging, he reports. "**Esther** and **Mannie** sold 26 copies at a busy corner. **Frank, Bert, Mannie** and **Hayden** sold 32 the following week at the same spot. **Marge** and **Don** sold 23 **Militants** and 8 copies of **Fourth International** one week at the University of Chicago and 23 **Militants** and one **FI** the next week. **Marge,** making our first sales at Roosevelt College, scored 11 in 20 minutes. **Bert** and **Mannie** sold six copies of Art Preis' pamphlet, **Welfare State or Socialism?**"

The Seattle activists also report a good reception to their efforts in recent weeks. "When the election campaign was over, we found that we had 150 copies of **Welfare State or Socialism?** on hand," writes **Marianne Stanley.** "We decided to sell the pamphlet in an area where we had become known during the campaign. Two groups of eight comrades worked for about an hour and the total number sold was, believe it or not, 70." Encouraged by such results, the Seattle comrades plan to continue this method.

Mrs. S. G. of Elmhurst, Ill., who missed a few copies because of a delay in her renewal, asks us to send her all the back issues "as I hate to miss any." And **Mrs. P. T. S. of Bethlehem, Pa.,** also renewing, observes that "your paper is getting more interesting every week."

H. C. B. of California sent in $5 for a subscription for a friend and a number of sample copies for acquaintances. "It's either socialism or perpetual war," he says. "Let's replace shooting with reason. 'Peace' to the 60 ruling families only means 'piece' of another country and lots of profits."

H. M. S. of Redding, Calif., writes that he is a conscientious objector and therefore does not agree 100% with **The Militant.** However, "yours is the sort of paper we appreciate reading during this time of so much propaganda and distortion."

Our thanks to **Anonymous of New York** who left $1 as a contribution when he came in to get some back issues he missed on the newsstands.

Besides the $2 needed to renew his subscription, **L. L. of Portchester, N. Y.,** enclosed $1 as a contribution "toward anything you wish." "We are strictly independents," he explains, "and read what we wish without being affected by the local hysteria." The $1, naturally, went into the kitty for the printer.

Jim Seward of Canada writes that "You certainly put up a good fight in the election, especially for Grace Carlson's name on the ballot. Grace sure has lots of good grit. I wish we had plenty more of her kind. Well, I guess we must all try and do our best. I am reminded of James P. Cannon's **History of American Trotskyism** and his noble fight in those days and I'm sure that we have no reason to think he is weakening any yet. Although crops this year barely paid expenses I am enclosing 10 greens for one year's renewal of my subscription to **The Militant** which I see is past due and also for **Fourth International,** nearly due now. Anything left over use as you see fit. I will send some more later."

O. S. of Rochester, N. Y., writes that the vote in Monroe County for the Socialist Workers Party "was surprisingly good considering that we have no organization here and no electioneering was done here other than what came over the radio. For Bartell we had 393 votes. In the last election I don't think there were over 20 votes all told."

And **D. P. of Duluth, Minn.,** congratulates the SWP "on the splendid vote you received in New York City. It shows that not all the workers are being fooled by the Trumanites and labor fakers. It must have been a shock to them that there were more than 13,000 people in New York City that voted for the SWP. It's the shape of things to come."

Truman Asks for Token Profits Tax

(Continued from page 1)

pay in taxes is not at all an academic issue. The less the corporations pay in taxes all the heavier is the tax load that falls on the wage earners, the salaried employees and the "little fellows" generally. Every relaxation of taxes on corporations will tend to force living standards a notch lower. And since the biggest expenditures for armaments still lie ahead, the question of taxation becomes indeed a burning one.

The aim of the corporations is to soak the poor, through direct and indirect taxation. It is expressed in such proposals as those of the National Association of Manufacturers, which demands increased taxes on "individual incomes," the introduction of a federal sales tax, and so on. In brief, tax anything and everything — except profits!

SWP PROGRAM

And that is precisely what is being and will continue to be done in Washington until labor and the toiling people as a whole take the decision into their own hands. We are firmly convinced that the only tax program that effectively protects the interests of the mass of the people is the one advocated by the Socialist Workers Party:

"Repeal all payroll taxes. Abolish all sales taxes. No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year. A 100% tax on incomes over $25,000 a year. Tax the rich, not the poor."

WHAT LEON TROTSKY SAID ON ROLE AND NEEDS OF PIONEER PUBLISHERS

According to all indications, the present crisis should bring about tremendous changes in the whole world and perhaps first of all in the U. S. A. The crisis of 1929 has already dealt a serious blow to the traditional ideologies of Americanism and created the necessity for a new orientation.

The economic revival of the past year has, it is true, somewhat damped theoretical searches and social criticism. Hopes arose that the process of economic growth interrupted by the crisis would again be re-established. But sooner than one could have expected the hour of a new crisis struck. It started from a lower level than the crisis of 1929 and is developing at a more rapid tempo. This demonstrates that it is not an accidental recession nor even a conjunctural depression but an organic crisis of the whole capitalist system. That is why one can with assurance predict that in all fields of human ideology — in economics, politics, philosophy, literature, art — there will open an epoch of bold criticism, liquidation of old prejudices, searches for new systems, courageous creation.

Revolutionary thought in America, with immeasurably more stability and vigor than hitherto, will begin to study different social doctrines in order to resolve the question of the fate of the United States and of the capitalist system as a whole.

On the other hand, one can expect that the bourgeois publishing houses which from time to time printed radical works in the firm belief that the U. S. was immune to the actions of "destructive" ideas will in the coming years become more cautious; i.e., reactionary, and will completely ostracize revolutionary theoretic thought.

It is impossible to place the slightest hope in this respect in the publishing activity of the so-called Communist Party. With time it becomes ever more hostile to theory. No wonder: every page of the revolutionary classics is an accusation against the present politics of the Comintern. Frame-up and falsification have become its basic method in all fields. It is impossible to trust any book, any article, any quotation issued by the Comintern press. Sooner or later all these works will be placed on a special Index under the general title, "The library of pseudo-Marxism and lies."

As far as the Socialist Party is concerned one cannot in general speak about it in relation to the problems of theoretic thought. This party lives on vulgar commonplaces. Its leaders are ingrained with an organic aversion to scientific analysis. Concern over revolutionary theory appears to their eyes as an unmistakable sign of sectarianism, if not a form of lunacy.

Under these conditions the necessity for a revolutionary publishing house, independent both from capital and from the Soviet bureaucracy is completely evident. Pioneer Publishers from the very beginning set itself the task of bringing out a serious library of revolutionary thought for advanced workers and radical intelligentsia.

During the last few years the first steps along this road have been taken. They have been met with manifest and encouraging sympathy. But there yet remains immeasurably more to be done than has been accomplished. There is weight in the idea that the center of social-revolutionary and revolutionary-philosophical thought will shift in the next period to America. Under the blows of the crisis and social shake-ups there will here arise a generation of revolutionary theoreticians capable of saying a new word. All the more necessary is it to create for this awakening social criticism a stable base in the form of a publishing house not bound by any other considerations and obligations outside of the objective to open to humanity a new road of development. Pioneer Publishers can accomplish a great historic task. Our common duty is to help them.

(Signed) LEON TROTSKY
Nov. 29, 1937, Coyoacan.

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BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3-960.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4767.

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Subscriptions: $3 per year; $1 for 6 months. Foreign: $3.50 per yr; $2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIV - No. 48 Monday, November 27, 1950

TROTSKY

"A totalitarian regime, whether of Stalinist or fascist type, by its very essence can be only a temporary transitional regime. Naked dictatorship in history has generally been the product and the symptom of an especially severe social crisis, and not at all of a stable regime. Severe crisis cannot be a permanent condition of society. A totalitarian state is capable of suppressing social contradictions during a certain period, but it is incapable of perpetuating itself. The monstrous purges in the USSR are most convincing testimony of the fact that Soviet society organically tends toward ejection of the bureaucracy."

— Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1939.

LENIN

Retreat on Taft-Hartley Act

Last year the union leaders denounced Taft's proposed 28 amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act as worse than the existing law and stated they would accept nothing less than the Act's repeal. But a week after their unsuccessful campaign to unseat Taft, a high ranking spokesman of the CIO Textile Workers gave intimation that a scheme is afoot among some CIO officials to abandon attempts to get the Taft-Hartley Act repealed and to accept it with amendments along the lines proposed by Taft himself.

At a press conference on Nov. 14 in Washington following the TWUA's presentation of a brief to the Senate Labor Committee, the union's general counsel, Isadore Katz, said that he thought Taft's amendments might be a good thing and the starting point of an alternative to actual repeal of the Slave Labor Law.

It is unlikely that Katz was shooting off his mouth irresponsibly on such a grave matter of CIO policy. Evidently his opinion reflects views having currency in top TWUA and CIO circles, even though the resolution since passed at the CIO convention calls for outright repeal of Taft-Hartley. From what Katz revealed, there is ground for strong suspicion tht they are preparing for a far-reaching compromise, if not outright surrender, in the fight against Taft-Hartley.

Such a move, however, will surprise no one who has observed the step-by-step retreat of the union leaders from the moment the bill was first proposed in Congress. When it was up for vote in 1947, both the CIO and AFL leaders were more vigorous in opposing militant mass action against the bill than in fighting its passage. Once it was enacted, they lined up to submit to its onerous provisions, including the yellow-dog Taft-Hartley oath.

Is it any wonder that many workers, observing the passive and even servile attitude of the union leaders toward the Taft-Hartley Act, were not moved by the last-minute election appeals of these same leaders to defeat Taft? If the union officials put up no real fight against Taft-Hartley, if they sought to "live with" this vicious law, then what could be so terrible about it or the man who wrote it, many workers undoubtedly reasoned. For this type of reasoning — which helped send Taft back to the Senate — the union leaders themselves are responsible.

As for the majority of union members who gave of their time, energy and money in the attempt to defeat Taft and other backers of his vicious law, they have good reason to reflect bitterly on their sacrifices when they see the further retreat, if not surrender, the union bureaucrats are now planning.

German People Oppose Rearming

Last week important elections took place in Germany when two "states" — Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden — voted for candidates to their parliaments. The result was a clear victory for the German Socialist Party, which has up to now been fading into the background of German politics. By the same token, a defeat was suffered by Chancellor Adenauer and his Christian Democratic Union.

The issue of rearmament was the overriding issue in these elections, as it bids to be in the next period in the political life of Germany as a whole. Adenauer and his party are inclined, with minor modifications, to go along with Washington's plans for militarizing Germany. The Socialist Party and its leader Dr. Schumacher, on the other hand, are far from being outright opponents of German rearming.

What they oppose is rearmament without the "consultation of the German people," that is, without a general election. Schumacher and his party then lay down two main conditions for rearming: 1) That enough Allied divisions are first sent into Germany to keep any "aggressor" (read: the Kremlin) off the "soil of the Fatherland"; and 2) that German forces be assured complete equality in number as well as command.

There is nothing anti-militaristic, let alone socialist, about this program. It unquestionably meets with the approval of a section of the German militarists and capitalists, if only as a means of extorting maximum concessions from Washington, London and Paris.

It was not at all in favor of this program that the mass of the German voters cast their ballot. Schumacher and his party presented the only avenue they saw for registering a protest against rearmament. It was as the ostensible foes of rearming and not as proponents of a special type of rearming that the German Socialists scored their gains.

Adenauer and his ruling party are crawling out of their skins (as are the political experts here) to minimize the election results. But their meaning is plain enough. The mass of the German people are opposed to militarization. They have repudiated Adenauer and his collaboration with Washington in this field. They have put an obstacle in the way of Washington's war machine.

He's Still Talking "Fair Deal"

A week after the elections brought a considerable shrinkage of the Democratic majority in Congress, Truman blithely told his press conference that "he would press for his Fair Deal program in the new Congress." He said that "he hoped to get all of it, too." When a reporter suggested that while he "hoped" to get it all he might "expect" to get less, Truman "replied with good-humored confidence that he expects to get it all and expects to get everything he asks for." (N.Y. Times, Nov. 17).

No one should get the idea from Truman's fantastic boast that he's become punch-drunk or soft in the head. He just thinks there are a lot of other folks who are soft in the head and who may believe him or at least give him credit for trying hard and wanting to do the right thing. Anyway, he figures, talking a good "Fair Deal" put him across in the 1948 elections and there's no harm in some more of the same fast talk considering that 1952 isn't so far off.

If the way he "pressed" for the "Fair Deal" in the 81st Congress is a sample, it's a safe bet at any odds that Truman will be cruising in Florida waters or fishing in restful isolation far from Capitol Hill whenever — and if ever — bills for Taft-Hartley repeal, FEPC, national health insurance, etc., reach the floors of the same Congress.

We don't believe Truman has invented a "secret weapon" for breaching the barricades of the new Congress when he couldn't even dent the walls of the closing Congress which had a substantial Democratic majority pledged in the 1948 elections to support the "Fair Deal." How does he hope to persuade even his own party colleagues in the coming Congress when the overwhelming majority of them in the waning Congress voted against or helped to block most of the "Fair Deal" proposals?

Of course, it is dead-wrong to credit Truman with any serious intentions about his "Fair Deal." That's just sucker-bait. The only program he's serious about is to turn this country into one big military barracks at an expense of so many hundreds of billions that there will be nothing left except a "Bare Deal" for the American people.

When a McCarthy spills his bilge, the Trumanite union leaders call it the "technique of the big lie." What should the workers call Truman's cheap propaganda promises — the "technique of the biggest lie"?

Korean People Oppose Restored Rhee Regime

By Joseph Keller

Under the benevolent protection of General MacArthur who restored him to power in South Korea, Syngman Rhee is continuing his murderous rule despite almost universal opposition among the South Korean people and the South Korean National Assembly itself.

Within the past two weeks, South Korean cabinet ministers Lee Yoon Yung and Koo Yung Sook have resigned after the Assembly demanded the resignation of President Rhee's entire cabinet. The Assembly, elected just before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, has also refused to confirm three successive prime ministers appointed by Rhee.

According to an Associated Press dispatch on Nov. 16 from Seoul, the Assembly had demanded the resignation of Rhee's cabinet "on the grounds the Cabinet was responsible for the war." Evidently, not even the South Korean legislature holds that the war in Korea is the result solely of "aggression" by the North Korean regime of Kim Il Sung.

ALIENATE SUPPORTERS

That the Rhee regime rests entirely on a tiny base of ultra-reactionary landlord and capitalist elements, propped up by the U. S. military and Rhee's own army and police, is indicated by Richard J. H. Johnston, N. Y. Times correspondent, who wrote from Seoul on Nov. 16 that the Rhee government "has been unable to win over the support of a large segment of the populace from which the Government, in the opinion of foreign observers, might have found strength."

Most of these are former supporters of the Rhee regime who for one reason or another were unable to flee Seoul at the time of the North Korean occupation. "These embittered people are now complaining," writes Johnston, "that the treatment they are receiving at the hands of the Korean civil and military police and right-wing youth organizations in many instances is as harsh as that meted out by the Communists during their occupation.

"The enthusiasm with which this large segment of the South Korean populace hailed the triumphant return of the Government to Seoul late in September appears now either to have cooled or turned to animosity."

Such acts of bestiality and torture are being perpetrated against the populace that it is proving embarrassing even to Rhee's imperialist backers, who have stated their invasion of Korea was designed to "liberate" the Korean people from "Communist totalitarianism."

ALIBI FOR ATROCITIES

Rhee's Minister of Home Affairs, Chough Pyung Ok, held a special conference for foreign correspondents on Nov. 17 to try to cover up the wholesale atrocities of the Rhee government. He said that instances of brutality, torture and murder by Rhee's police were in reprisal for the acts by the "Communists" against the police. The savagery of the police however had been noted in the American press long before the Korean war broke out.

Chough revealed that more than 55,909 "suspects" had been arrested in Seoul alone since its recapture by MacArthur. More than 40,000 are still being held. How many have been executed after only the most summary trial is not known, but dispatches reported in previous issues of the Militant told of firing squads working night and day.

OUT OF HAND

In North Korea, where Rhee is also attempting to establish his rule, the conduct of the Rhee supporters — principally the fascist-like South Korean Youth Defense sent north under a brigadier general responsible to Rhee's Defense Ministry — has created such turmoil and hostility that U. S. military authorities have rounded some up and ordered their return south of the 38th Parallel. They were accused of shooting, looting and raping, thereby spoiling "the good impression" made by the South Korean troops.

While some American correspondents manage to get a hint out now and then about the "liberation" proceeding under the U. S. and UN-sponsored Rhee regime, Washington and Lake Success keep a discreet silence. Rhee is their man, hand-picked to do the bloody job of repressing the Korean masses.

U.S. Bombings Caused Huge Civilian Toll in South Korea

Almost 300,000 civilian casualties were suffered in South Korea during the four-month period when it was being "liberated" by U. S. "strategic bombing" and "scorched earth" methods of combatting guerrillas.

Tucked at the bottom of Robert S. Allen's Washington column in the Nov. 20 N. Y. Post is the following small but revealing paragraph: "NOTE: Hardest-hit victims of the war are South Korean civilians. Their casualties top the battle losses of both sides. A special UN report estimates South Korean civilian casualties at 284,000, of which 109,000 are dead."

This is the toll of innocent and helpless men, women and children — conservatively estimated, we may be sure — which MacArthur did not report in his glowing daily communiques about "saturation bombing" of "enemy military installations."

WHAT JUSTIFICATION?

The Allied extermination bombings against Germany in World War II were condoned on the grounds that these were retaliation for the Nazi bombings of Warsaw, Rotterdam and London. But what cities did the Koreans bomb to justify the systematic obliteration of their cities, towns and villages by U.S. bombers?

The horrors visited on the people of South Korea are being duplicated and surpassed in North Korea. There nothing is being left standing in the path of the U. S. invaders.

An AP dispatch from Seoul on Nov. 7 described how "Allied war planes began burning all villages to flush out Chinese Red soldiers. U.S. 1st Cavalry Division troops reported they had seen Chinese troops change into civilian clothing and loll around the villages during the day while Allied planes buzzed overhead"

A United Press correspondent, Glenn A. Stackhouse, told in a North Korea dispatch on Nov. 9:

"Capt. Stein has ordered his patrols to burn every building they can find because he had been told that Chinese soldiers were changing to white peasant clothing to disguise themselves as civilians during daylight hours.

" 'Sherman burned every house in Georgia, and I'm going to burn every house I can find in North Korea if that's the way they want to play,' he said.

"Looking out to the north you can see where Capt. Stein's patrols are carrying out his orders. Plumes of dirty white smoke are spiralling into the sky."

A CITY DIES

Here is how Hal Boyle, AP correspondent, described on Nov. 9 the total obliteration of one city in 30 minutes.

"In this age of power, and speed, the death can be as swift as it is terrible. That is the way it was at Sinuiju. Yesterday it was a city of 100,000 lying on the Korean side of the Yalu River bordering Manchuria.

"It was noon when the growling rumble of the approaching U.S. Superforts gave the first warning of doom. By 12:30, 90 per cent of this Communist nest lay in ruins. It was ripped and burned by more than 600 tons of fire bombs and high explosives. . .

"Flight by flight the bombers let go. Step by step the city below was destroyed. The clay walls fell apart in the heat. The straw roofs burned, the wood flamed. And the people died or fled."

This is how the Korean people are being taught "democracy."

FRANCO LOAN IS BLOW TO SPANISH PEOPLE

By Frank Poole

The Truman administration has granted a loan of $62,500,000 to General Franco, the Spanish dictator. The loan's immediate purpose is to prop up the fascist regime of Franco, which has lately shown signs of reaching a crisis. But more than that, this loan commits U. S. imperialism to continue propping up the Spanish butcher's rule.

The loan is thus worth a lot more than $62,500,000 to Franco. Not only is this just the beginning — many more loans and armaments, also, will now flow from Washington to Madrid. More important, however, is that Washington has now served notice on the Spanish people that it is backing Spanish fascism against any internal revolt.

This Move Was Long Prepared

This action of the Truman administration should come as a surprise to no one. The liberals and the labor leaders may feign surprise but everyone could see that Truman has long been preparing this move.

Washington's major difficulty was the exposure of all its World War II propaganda implicit in a loan to Franco. That war, waged in the name of anti-fascism, necessitated condemnation of Franco, the god-child of Mussolini and Hitler. During and after the war all fascism, and that had to include the Spanish variety, was condemned by the Allies and by the UN.

The United Nations refused Franco's regime a seat and urged its members not to have diplomatic dealings with Madrid. Liberal organizations in the U. S. publicly hoped for the overthrow of the hated dictator. When the ALF and CIO joined in the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at a world congress in London last year, labor's opposition to Franco was reaffirmed. Said the ICFTU Manifesto: "Free trade unions of the world will support with all their strength the efforts of the peoples suffering under police state rule — such as those of . . . Franco Spain . . . to free themselves from totalitarian oppression."

FRANCO

While U. S. liberals and labor leaders were proclaiming support of the Spanish people against Franco, the politicians they helped put in office were laying the groundwork for strengthening Franco.

In September 1949 four U. S. warships demonstratively paid a visit to Spain. The U. S. admiral and fleet officers "paid their respects" to Franco with whom they held a conference.

Last month the State Department engineered a pro-Franco maneuver in the UN. Using Latin-American delegations as catspaws, Washington put through a resolution for resumption of high-level diplomatic relations with Spain, thus paving the way for its eventual admission to the UN.

When reporters asked Truman how long it would be before an American Ambassador was sent to Madrid, Truman assured it would take "a long time."

Before the elections Truman declared that ECA funds which Congress had made available would not be allocated to Spain by him. The liberals and the labor leaders fell all over themselves in praising Truman's liberalism and devotion to democracy. Hardly were the elections over than Truman made the money available to the Spanish dictator.

So far the liberals and labor leaders have been remarkably silent on Truman's deceit. Liberal newspapers have barely commented on the loan editorially and in those cases they blame not Truman — but the Republicans. This despite the fact that Truman is the banner-bearer not of the Republican Party but of their own party.

It is safe to predict that the labor leaders and the liberals will make only perfunctory protests to Truman — if they make any. Not a single one of them will break with Truman or the Democratic Party because of the loan to Franco.

The loan to Franco is not only a blow to the Spanish people. It hits American labor as well. By reinforcing reaction abroad, the enemies of labor and of civil liberties gain added strength at home. That is why American workers should denounce the loan and take measures to help the Spanish people get rid of their fascist oppressors.

Political Opposition to Yugoslav Regime

(Continued from page 2)

The dissatisfaction of these people is not to be explained by their being worse off than before, but on the contrary they are dissatisfied because the Yugoslav government doesn't allow them to exploit the present situation as much as they would like. We have observed in Europe, during the years of the German occupation and immediately after the war, what happens when the rich peasants and speculators are left practically free to conduct their business as they please. Children are starved while pigs are fed milk. Workers, employees and even poor peasants are pushed down to the starvation level, while the finest food-stuffs and wines are reserved for luxury restaurants which mushroom by the dozens. Nothing of the kind is possible today in Yugoslavia. The state, which is a workers state, prevents the rich peasants, if necessary by coercion, from starving the cities.

Wherever they slaughter their cattle, they are imprisoned; whenever they try to withhold their quotas of deliveries to the state, they are first fined heavily, then imprisoned and finally expropriated. The period of transition between capitalism and socialism is not idyllic and no paradise. It is a period of harsh class struggle. There are in Yugoslavia today prisons, prison camps, judges and tribunals as in any other state. In 1950 many foreigners were able to visit these prisons and prison camps, or attend trials. They found defendants who vigorously defended themselves. They found prison camps where there was a normal 8-hour working day and normal food rations issued to the prisoners. And they found especially that it was possible to talk freely with the prisoners and hear their bitter complaints "that they had been put in prison because they had only tried to sell their own wheat."

It is very rare to find Stalinist opponents of the Yugoslav regime. Some Belgians encountered one on a Zagreb tram; another was a worker in a Zagreb factory. They are much more violent in their criticism of the government than the reactionaries, and they are much weaker and without a solid organization. Their sole perspective is a military attack by the Soviet army. They still have some contacts with "liquidationist" tendencies inside the CPY which, without agreeing with the Stalinist line, consider a Russian invasion as inevitable and want to be on the winning side. In discussion with high Yugoslav officials, you are sometimes struck by their refusal to answer any question concerning the Soviet Union. The vice-president of the Croatian government was one of those who reacted in this way. His group, which has just been purged, after Tito and Rankovich tried in vain in a two-day discussion to bring them to break with the Kremlin, had maintained for some time underground contact with Cominform circles inside and outside the country.

The number of arrested Cominformists is difficult to guess. Official Belgrade circles fix the number of Serbian Cominformists put into prison at 2,000, among whom were 500 students. Their treatment in the prison camps, to which several foreign delegations paid a prolonged visit, is quite humane. Their main "torture" is being foced to listen daily to the Cominform radio broadcasts in the various Yugoslav languages. There is a very intense political life in these camps. Some prisoners, whom the foreign delegations met, told them "they were very proud to have taken up the cause of the great Soviet Union, and that they would continue to do so." Others explained at length why they had conspired against the Yugoslav government and why they came to understand they had been wrong to believe Cominformist lies. The great majority of the prisoners are released after 18 to 24 months, and integrated in their former positions. The Belgrade students were especially eager to point out that no student could be barred from a scholarship because he had been imprisoned for political reasons.

What are the political perspectives of the reactionary oppositionists? They pin their hopes on only one thing: American intervention. The more the Yugoslav government is forced to enter into trade relations with the Western powers, the more will it be subjected to pressure on their part. Either through pressure, or through war—when, as they think, the American troops will enter the country as allies or enemies — Yugoslavia will eventually return to "democracy," i.e., to a system where parasitic exploiters will again live better than "ignorant hod-carriers." It is doubtful that such an ideal can attract much political support in the cities. Therefore, conditions in the cities are very mild.

In Zagreb, the opposition is preparing to offer a slate of candidates in the next elections. It is tightly organized and holds meetings regularly. It has its own slogans and launches "campaigns" — like their campaign to influence the foreigners who came this year to their city. Its members discussed freely — and loudly! — with all foreigners in the big cafes Gradska Kavana and Kavana Djbrovnik, in restaurants, or trams and even on the streets. Yugoslav leaders, when told about this, usually smile: "We know about them, but what harm can they do? We watch them, and as long as they don't disturb the peace, we let them go their own way."

It should be mentioned that working class political opposition is practically non-existent in Yugoslavia. Recently, the anarchists had to admit at a public press conference in Paris that "by accident" (!) their co-thinkers had been "overlooked" and escaped imprisonment or repressions in Yugoslavia. The anarchist group consists only of a few individuals, unable to engage in any public activity.

As for the Social Democrats, they fall into two groups. In Serbia, the right wing under Topalovich joined with Mikhailovich's Chetniks against the Partisans and therefore disappeared as a political force, most of the leaders fleeing from the country in the liberation period. In Slovenia, the centrist Socialists joined together with the CP in the "Liberation Front" in 1940, and ever since have occupied many important state positions. A Belgian journalist met one of them, an old worker, now a member of the workers' council of Jesenic, the big steel plant near the Austrian border. He met another at Ljubljana, in the headquarters of the Communist-led "Liberation Front." He was not a Stalinist fellow-traveler, nor a "would-be-socialist," of the type the CP cultivates elsewhere in Eastern Europe. This man came out openly for Yugoslavia joining the Council of Europe. He criticized the "exaggerated amount of nationalizations." He hoped there would be an independent Social Democratic Party soon. He got into a big argument with a local CP leader present, but didn't seem at all afraid. It is hardly likely that the working class will flock around such a perspective.

Are Trotskyists permitted to work in Yugoslavia today? A positive answer cannot be given to this question, in the first place because we are unaware of the existence of any organized Trotskyist force in that country. Before the war, Yugoslavia was the only Balkan country where there existed no organization affiliated to the movement of the Fourth International; Left Oppositionists there had followed the ultra-left line of Anton Ciliga and were not connected with the international Trotskyist movement. As for the people referred to by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in its past literature as "Trotskyist" we do not know exactly who they were.

(Next week: Workers Councils)

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIV — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1950 — NUMBER 48

The SWP's 1950 Vote

By George Breitman

We Trotskyists, who aim to win a majority of the American working people to our revolutionary socialist ideas, are well aware that the 27,659 votes so far recorded for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on Nov. 7 is still a far cry from the kind of vote that would be received by a mass party. Nevertheless, this vote is an achievement we can be proud of, and a token of the future progress that will surely be made in spreading the influence of our movement.

The SWP did not enter the election picture as a national force until 1948. That year we were able to get on the ballot in 11 states with our presidential and local tickets, and in two districts of California with local candidates. Our presidential ticket was credited with 13,613 votes, while the total of the highest votes received in all states was 24,798. This year we were able to get on only four state-wide ballots, congressional ballots in each of three other states, and the same two districts in California. The percentage of the population in these areas to that of 1948 was only 70%. Yet the total of our highest vote in the various states in 1950 was considerably larger than our 1948 total. (And the 1950 totals still do not include the big state of Michigan, and sections of New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.)

Remembering that less people voted this year than in 1948, that is quite an accomplishment for a party that ran its entire campaigns with less money than the capitalist parties spent in a single ward in any industrial city. And it takes on added significance when we consider the political situation which, because of the greatly intensified witch-hunt and repressive atmosphere, was far more unfavorable for small radical parties than in 1948. Even more than two years ago, it was a case of swimming against the stream.

One circumstance that accounts for the bigger SWP vote this year was the smaller number of parties on the ballot in many states. The Progressive Party, which put on such a gaudy show in 1948, had declined drastically in members, votes and morale even before Wallace deserted it last summer, and since then it has become a Stalinist-dominated shell, able and willing to run candidates in comparatively few places. The Socialist Party, likewise in the throes of an incurable political crisis, held a convention in June which voted down Norman Thomas' proposal to discontinue independent electoral activity, but in spite of this decision the SP ran candidates in only three or four states this year. Some of the workers who had previously supported these parties in the past undoubtedly voted SWP this year.

These were not "undeserved" or "accidental" votes, however. There was nothing accidental about the defection of our opponents, which was the logical consequence of their political bankruptcy. These votes really belonged to the SWP. For the SWP refused to be intimidated; it fought back against the forces of reaction at a time when most other radical parties were retreating without resistance or trying to make their peace with the capitalist parties; it went through the arduous process of collecting the necessary signatures to get on the ballot in the face of many obstacles; and it challenged the capitalist candidates under the banner of revolutionary socialism in the streets, over the radio and at the polls wherever it had the resources to do so. By its political boldness and intransigence, the SWP earned those votes and it is justified in viewing them as endorsement of the platform it presented without equivocation in the 1950 campaign.

This is a period of reaction, probably the worst in the history of this country, and in such periods the ruling class is able to temporarily intimidate and silence great sections of the population. But the effect is not uniform; there is always a minority of the population, including some who have been previously uninterested in politics, who are angered and aroused by the methods of the ruling class and are willing to listen with greater receptivity and even sympathy to the message of revolutionary socialism. The increase in the SWP vote is evidence of this; it demonstrates the existence of a body of people, considerably larger than the ranks of our movement, who have given a vote of confidence to our party even in these difficult times. Part of our job now is to make direct contact with these people and their counterparts in states where we were unable to get on the ballot, to introduce them to our party literature and **The Militant**, and to teach them that there is more to the struggle for socialism than voting the right ticket on election day, important as that is. From their ranks will come reinforcements that will help to transform the SWP into a mass party capable of achieving its historic goals.

Post-Election Comment

By Albert Parker

They didn't use exactly those words, but a number of the top liberal spokesmen and pro-Fair Deal intellectuals made it plain they felt the Democratic losses on Nov. 7 were due to a lack of intelligence on the part of many voters. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., writing in the **N. Y. Post** about the "electoral endorsement of McCarthyism," says:

"Too much power and responsibility have been thrust on the American people in the last decade. The result of this crushing burden has been discontent, anxiety and fear; the result has been a violent wrench in our national ways of life. Some people still cannot but think that this wrench must be the consequence of bungling or of conspiracy, not of the great subterranean tides of history. Such people are hunting for scapegoats, and they have settled upon the political leaders identified with the transition from the old comfortable ways of isolationism and irresponsibility." The editors of the **New Republic** take a similar line.

Maybe, as the liberals contend, the voters don't know what they want, but they sure know what they don't want. They don't want a policy of war and imperialism that will take the lives of their sons and the dollars out of their pay envelopes, and many voted against those they held responsible for this policy. If this benefited the GOP, the fault lay with the labor leaders and liberals who gave them no other alternative. The **New Republic** complains that "Inspired men alone will vote for hardships, and in 1950 there was little inspiration." Schlesinger concludes: "President Truman and Secretary Acheson have been much better at policy than at explaining the moral and historical necessities behind policy. This is the deficiency that the next two years must remedy." The liberals seem to think that the people will go for the imperialist "hardship" policy if it's better presented. The American people may or may not be politically backward, but they're certainly not that backward.

Comment from the labor press and leaders was not on a higher level. The **League Reporter**, paper of the AFL Labor League for Political Education, had one main theme, sounded over and over again in article, editorial and cartoon: The "communists" were the main winners in the election (on the ground that the "isolationists" are in control of Congress again. "Russia" heads its list of those rejoicing the most over the election returns "because they stand to benefit most from the results." One article finished this way: "Stalin and the Politburo are even happier over the 1950 elections than they were even at the time of the Communist victory in China or the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939." That's called "political education" in top AFL circles.

A week after the elections AFL President William Green still didn't understand why Taft won in Ohio, although he conceded "a lot of labor men" must have voted for him. CIO President Philip Murray, asked if he too was "bewildered" by the Ohio results, retorted that Taft himself must have been bewildered by the size of his majority. That's what passes as "labor statesmanship" in the labor bureaucracy.

CIO **News** editor Allan L. Swim's major post-election plea is for "Congress to quit playing partisan politics with our foreign policy. . . . Regardless of how we're divided on domestic matters we must present a reasonably united front to the world on international issues." With such a viewpoint, the election results don't seem so important. But if the chief need after the elections is a united front of labor with the reactionaries, why did the union leaders make such a fuss during the campaign?

The CIO **Toledo Union Journal** prints an article by UAW Vice President Gosser, blaming the defeat of Congressman Burke on the kept press and the "gullibility and complacency" of working people "when they have full time jobs, real wages and some decent living conditions." Apparently everybody is to blame except, naturally, the labor leaders who support capitalist politics.

The Social Democrats haven't changed either. Norman Thomas, writing in the **Socialist Call**, says, "The real tragedy of the campaign was the abysmal failure of those whom we call 'liberal' to take the aggressive." Their failure to put on a better show of "liberalism" of course makes it more difficult for Thomas to drag the remnants of the Socialist Party into the Democratic Party. And Daniel James, **New Leader** managing editor, scolds the liberals for committing "a bad strategic and tactical error by glossing over or defending the Administration's sorry record on the Communist issue. . . If they honestly want to defeat reaction, they must henceforth seize the initiative in combatting Communism here and abroad, other wise they will forfeit leadership of the nation for a long time to come." That is, the way to fight reaction is by surpassing it at witch-hunting, a la the **New Leader**!

Short Subjects

By John F. Petrone

The **Wage Earner**, paper of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in Detroit, was so upset by the defeat of the Stellato-Reuther leadership in the recent election of the General Council of UAW Ford Local 600 that it blurted out its real opinion of rank and file unionists who don't follow the redbaiting line of the ACTU. The chief headline in its November issue reads: "Democracy in Local 600 Is Being Strangled by Rank and File Stupidity." The article accuses the membership of "apathy, disinterest, laziness or plain stupidity" and a "complete lack of moral responsibility" because they failed to vote for the Reutherite-ACTU slate or, even worse, voted against it. "The starkly tragic fact," it snarls, is that a blow has been dealt to "that great union's struggle to operate within the democratic, Christian framework of the American trade union movement."

Equally revealing is the **Wage Earner's** comment on the election results, written by Rev. Karl Hubble, Detroit ACTU chaplain and political commissar for the hierarchy in the local labor movement. His complaint is that labor has forgotten it "remains a political minority" and that too many union leaders are "well down the road" toward a labor party and "a labor government which would try to maintain a stable and prosperous economy by legislative and executive fiat." He's for the prevailing "form of economic democracy which has done more for the stability and prosperity of the economy than any labor government anywhere ever has or ever will." In short, hooray for the status quo, and beware of any political action that might change it.

* * *

The radical pacifist monthly, **Alternative**, has had its Sept.-Oct. issue banned from the mails, according to New York Postmaster Albert Goldman's letter to the editors, who said it was banned under a postal regulation dealing with "advocating or urging treason, insurrection or forcible resistance to any law of the United States." The magazine is edited by pacifists who believe in non-violence methods of peaceful change along Gandhist lines even if it means "defying the laws of the country when they conflict with principle."

* * *

Government officials announced last week that controls affecting civilian production will begin to be felt nationally by next summer, and within a year the nation will be "well into an economy of austerity." In case anybody thinks this is an exaggeration or a reference to the kind of conditions that prevailed here, say, during the last war, we call attention to columnist Drew Pearson's comment on the price of the war preparations now under way: "In fact, to pay this huge armament bill we must inevitably and definitely lower our standard of living to a point similar to or even lower than Europe's."

WHAT MICH. ELECTION RESULT REALLY SHOWED

DETROIT — The biggest Michigan mid-year election in the state's history amid scandal and suspicion of fraud — that is the picture here after a vote count, sometimes a double-count, with a recount to come.

Each tabulation reveals more "mistakes." Votes cast in favor of a referendum to permit sale of yellow oleomargarine, votes favoring an amendment to destroy Michigan's Bill of Rights, tally pages shuffled by "mistake" — all went to swell the total vote for the Republican candidate for Governor. After obvious "errors" had been rectified, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, Kelly, lost some "original" 7,000 votes and the election to his Democratic opponent, Williams. Workers are generally agreed that the Republicans tried to steal the election.

Meantime, both parties are fighting to install their representative in the Governor's chair until the recount and possible court battles are over. The reason: There are many appointments to be made and much patronage to be dispensed, and both parties are after these chops.

WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM

Another scheme that blew up in this election was that of the labor leaders who tried to sell millionaire "Soapy" Williams — heir to the Mennen shaving cream fortune — to the workers as a messiah. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets flooded the plants, the workers were harangued at union meetings and with sound equipment blaring at plant gates and every other means of propaganda at the disposal of both CIO and AFL.

Despite this, fully one-third of Michigan's registered voters could see no reason for going to the polls, as compared with one-fifth who did not vote two years ago. Many more did not even bother to register. Negro and white workers who voted the Democratic ticket did so without enthusiasm. These are the results of the Democratic Party's record nationally and in Michigan.

Many middle-class elements — seeing no difference in principle between Democrats and Republicans — voted for the Democratic candidate for Governor and then for the rest of the Republican slate. Although Williams is reportedly the winner by 1,142 votes, his slate is in the dust behind him.

The union officials have become transformed into vote-catchers and job-seekers in the Democratic machines. No more do they think of principles in elections. The whole PAC, originally organized as an independent arm of labor to fight for workers' interests, today blindly follows the rotten practices of the Democratic Party and covers up its treachery. The Reuther-Trumanites even refused to campaign against the scrapping of Michigan's Bill of Rights.

Nevertheless, fully 400,000 voted against the measure that would do this, as against 650,000 who favored it and 800,000 who did not vote at all. Had the labor movement campaigned against this witch-hunt proposition, it would surely have been defeated.

Among the 400,000 who voted "no" was a large section of the liberal middle-class vote. Once this layer of the middle class is united with the workers on a militant program in their common interests, labor could sweep any election.

This is the real lesson of the 1950 Michigan elections. Only a labor party with labor's own candidates can take the initiative in such a project. To remain tied to the Democratic Party is to court new and worse defeats.

Democrat Platform of 1900 --Is That 'Subversive' Too?

"We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army, an unnecessary burden of taxation and would be a constant menace to their liberties. . . The Republic has no place for a vast military establishment, a sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription. . . We denounce it as un-American, undemocratic, and unrepublican and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people."

The foregoing words sound as if they written today. They were not. They were written at the turn of the century, fifty years ago. Nor were they uttered by any thinkers far in advance of their times. Those who uttered them were neither radicals nor opponents of capitalism. The politicians who wrote this and millions of others who subscribed to it, were staunch supporters of "free enterprise." It was the Democrats who included it in their party platform, the platform of the Democratic Party in 1900.

Nor were the Democrats the only ones. Many prominent Republicans of the time sounded the same warning. Only the oldest generation in this country may still recall what the occasion was. It was the aftermath of the first major venture into imperialism and Big Power politics by Washington — the Spanish-American War.

LEADS TO DESPOTISM

Again we quote: "We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly inevitably to despotism at home . . . we are not willing to surrender our civilization, or to convert the Republic into an empire. . . . The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. . . . The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in nowise diminished . . . ; but the burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish war, involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions."

What has changed since those days? Today the imperialist course inherent in the Spanish-American War dominates the policies of Washington and impinges literally on every sphere of social activity. The huge conscript army, only a threat in 1900, is the dire reality. The military caste is astride the main seats of power. And with history's savage irony, it is the Democratic Party which now serves, as the ruling party, to implement the very policies for which it formerly denounced and condemned the Republicans.

But the fact remains that the main historical background of this country's development and its most ancient traditions have been to reject and combat militarism and imperialism as the mortal enemies of freedom, progress and peace.

WHY LABOR UNIONS SHOULD NOT 'GET OUT OF POLITICS'

(Continued from Page 1)

ers? It would simply mean unconditional surrender to the politics of Big Business and abdication of all political rights.

It is, however, precisely a modern-day form of Gompersism that has suffered defeat in this election. Gompers didn't oppose labor participation in capitalist politics. He opposed independent labor politics free from capitalist ties. He was the great exponent of the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" school of politics. This is the policy of supporting those candidates of the two capitalist parties who are supposed to be the most friendly to labor.

This is essentially the politics of today's union leaders. But they have given it a special twist. They have had to assume the appearance of "independence." They have had to develop a special technique for withstanding the pressure of the union ranks for the formation of an independent labor party. That is why they have set up special labor political organizations whose function it is to corral labor votes for the capitalist politicians they label "friends of labor."

But if labor acts as an organized body in politics to back capitalist politicians, it can also act as an organized force to back its own candidates and program. Indeed, such organizations as PAC and LLPE can be come the basis for genuinely independent labor politics, for the formation of a new labor party marking the entrance of labor into politics as a class fighting for its own interests.

This is what the **World-Telegram** and the class it represents fear most of all. It is afraid that the workers will draw from the recent elections the lesson that labor must abandon Gompersism — the policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies" among the capitalist politicians — and organize as a completely independent political force. Hence, the capitalist press is quick to offer its own counter-advice — leave politics to us, the minority, the rich, the ruling class.

Labor's defeat in 1950 was not a defeat for independent, organized labor participation in politics. It was a defeat for the policy of supporting one or another wing of capitalist politics.

Leads Fight

GLADYS BARKER

Harlem Tenants Demonstrate, Get Speedy Action

NEW YORK, Nov. 20—Tenants at 3 West 112th St. tried last week to obtain emergency facilities from their landlord, the New York City Housing Authority, after a basement fire had destroyed the main power lines to their apartment house and left them in total darkness at night, and without gas.

After four days and nights had passed, with the Housing Authority doing nothing, some of the tenants called upon the Harlem Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League to assist them.

Last Friday, a number of the tenants and their children, led by Al Jenkins, president of the Tenants League, secretary Jean Costello and executive board member Gladys Barker (who recently finished her campaign for Lt. Governor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket), held a demonstration for emergency relief at the City Housing Authority headquarters.

Harry Snell, manager, was well aware of the proven power of the four-year old Tenants League to mobilize hundreds of tenants in this sub-standard dwelling area, which is to be the site of the future Stephen Foster housing project. So he agreed to relocate all the tenants within 24 hours.

This achievement, through united action, by the Tenants League and the occupants of 3 West 112th St. received publicity on the front page of this week's **Amsterdam News**, Harlem's leading newspaper. The League holds meetings every Wednesday night at 103 West 110th St.

College Teachers Being Gagged by Witch-Hunt

Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, warns that thought-control is endangering all freedom and "independent thought" in universities. "Everywhere in the United States," he says, college teachers are being silenced "by the general atmosphere of repression that now prevails."

Witch-Hunters Are Not Exempt From the Purge

The ever-widening character of the witch-hunt is illustrated by the fact that the next targets of red-baiting in Washington will be the members of the Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law. The nominations of the five SACB members will be taken up for confirmation or rejection by the Senate in the "lame duck" session beginning Nov. 27.

Reactionary Republicans, heartened by the gains they made through the use of McCarthyism in the recent elections, have already indicated that they are going to challenge Truman's nominees for the SACB, and especially its chairman, Seth W. Richardson, a Republican himself.

Richardson, they claim, is not strongly enough in favor of the witch-hunt. The truth is that as head of the Loyalty Review Board in charge of Truman's purge of government employees, Richardson consistently upheld the witch-hunters on the main point of principle involved — that is, he agreed the Attorney General had the right to put any organization on his "subversive" blacklist without permitting the organization a hearing, knowledge of the charge against itself or a chance to refute them.

But Richardson's past services to the witch-hunt are not enough to save even him from being smeared on essentially the same grounds that he helped to smear so many individuals and organizations. The McCarthys know a good thing when they see it; they learned that taking hold of the witch-hunt started by the Democratic administration and using it against the Democrats paid off heavily in the elections; they have no hesitation in using the same weapon in the future even if it will mean sideswiping Republicans as well.

And so the most rabid witch-hunters are coming back to Washington this month with the taste of blood in their mouths and a powerful desire for more. The chances are that the Senate, if not in the present session then probably next January, will set up its own Un-American Activities Committee, to parallel the inquisitorial body of the House.

As for the McCarran-Kilgore law, its repeal is absolutely excluded during the next two years; any changes made in it will be for the worse.

THE LEE CASE

Other recent developments on the civil rights front included the disgraceful conclusion of the Michael E. Lee case in the Department of Commerce. Lee, an economist in that department, was accused of "disloyalty" by a McCarthyite Senator after he had originally been cleared by the Department of Commerce Loyalty Board. Secretary Charles Sawyer then ordered Lee to resign or be dismissed; when Lee refused, he was suspended.

On Nov. 16 Sawyer announced that Lee was innocent of "disloyalty" charges; simultaneously, he ordered Lee dismissed under the regulations recently passed by Congress which give department heads the right to fire any employee "on the ground of security and the best interests of the United States." Lee resigned as soon as he heard his "loyalty" was cleared, but it is doubtful if he will find it any easier to get a new job than if he had been fired on outright "disloyalty" charges.

The next day the Truman administration got a setback in its attempts to enforce the sections of the McCarran-Kilgore law applying to aliens in the U. S. In New Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan sharply rebuked the Department of Justice for seizing non-citizens previously set free on bail and ordered that 16 being held at Ellis Island be let out on bail again.

Ryan held that denial of bail to the aliens "was arbitrary and an abuse of discretion on the part of the Attorney General." The administration had claimed that McGrath's power to confine aliens pending deportation hearings is "absolute and not subject to judicial review." But practically all of the courts where the alien arrests have been appealed have rejected this claim.

CIO LEADERS SIDETRACK VITAL ISSUES AT PARLEY

(Continued from Page 1)

bureaucrats than the open war program of the Democrats.

Murray's reference to "domestic issues" is a baseless complaint because the people — including many CIO members — quite correctly considered the international situation and the danger of being dragged into a world war the crucial issue. Their repudiation of the Democrats was an expression of their justified fears about Truman's war policy.

But the CIO leaders at the convention are taking no stock of what the people feel. This is shown in the foreign policy resolution drafted by Reuther's committee and pushed through the convention with a minimum of discussion. The resolution goes down the line for the major foreign policies of Truman's State Department, including a big pitch in defense of Secretary of State Acheson.

As in previous conventions, this resolution was dressed up with some criticisms — the way the Marshall Plan is being administered to enrich the capitalists in Western Europe, the aid Truman is giving such dictators as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and fascist Franco. The CIO leaders never brought up these matters, however, when they were asking the workers to vote for Democrats who back these policies.

The resolution, following the line of Reuther's demagogic "plan" for "adequate defense and social improvements," called for revision of the Marshall Plan to get "improved living standards" in France, Italy and Western Germany, although it raised no opposition to the enormous armament program, at home and abroad, which cannot but drive living standards ever lower.

But if the Truman administration doesn't accept this advice from the CIO leaders — as it hasn't and won't — what do they propose? Will they refuse to go along with a foreign policy that bolsters bestial totalitarian capitalist regimes and brutal imperialisms? There is not a hint of it in the resolution.

All that the CIO leaders ask is that more "labor-minded citizens" — meaning union officials — be given some policy-making posts in the State Department, the ECA and other government agencies. This may provide a bit more labor cover to Wall Street's war program, but how will it relieve the people's anxiety about the war drive?

As in their complaints about the GOP's "misrepresentations" on foreign policy, so on the question of the "Communist smear" — McCarthyism — the CIO leaders offered no answer. Instead, in the same breath as he assailed the Republicans for "demagoguery" in linking the Democrats to "Communists," Murray proclaimed that "when it suits the wishes of Taft, he votes communism in the Congress." And he added the boast: "We don't — we expel them (Communists)."

Murray was loaded down with complaints — against the Defense Mobilization Act which lays the basis for wage freezing but is full of loopholes on price control; against the staggering profits of the corporations; against labor's lack of a real voice in the war production agencies.

But in nothing he said did he offer the slightest suggestion as to how labor might defend its interests through its own independent action. He could only appeal to Truman and the "better nature" of those responsible for foisting the full burden of the war program on the workers.

Indeed, he concluded by stating that "if and when the time comes that there has got to be universal regimentation to fight off communism then labor is prepared to do its part." Of course, he would like "equal sacrifice." But he's ready for "universal regimentation." That's his real answer to the problems facing the CIO workers.